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INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-08 EA-11 EUR-14 NEA-09 RSC-01 ACDA-19
GAC-01 E-11 ORM-03 SR-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02
INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12
RSR-01 /159 W

R 061700Z DEC 71
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WAHSDC 9444
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USDEL SALT VI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4797

SUBJ: PRC IN 26TH GA: THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

1. SUMMARY: REVIEW OF PRC DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES THROUGH DECEMBER 3 IN NEW YORK SHOWS CHINESE HAVE APPROACHED ISSUES CONSERVATIVELY, GENERALLY MAINTAINING OPTICNS WHILE CONTINUING TO SHOPE UP IDENTITY WITH THIRD

WORLD. ALTHOUGH ENERGETICALLY SEEKING EDUCATE SELVES AND GIVING IMPRESSION OF ACTIVITY, CHINESE FOR MOST PART HAVE AVOIDED BOTH COMMITTEES AND COMMITMENTS. DURING FIRST THREE WEEKS OF PRESENCE, HOWEVER, IN AT LEAST TWO INSTANCES THEY HAVE FELT REACTION OF OTHERS TO THEIR INTERVENTIONS IN UN: MODIFYING PROCESS OF GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS BEGUN. IN REMAINING THREE WEEKS OF 26TH UNGA, CHINESE ARE FACED WITH NEED TO TAKE POSITIONS ON VARIETY OF ISSUES WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE USEFUL CLUES TO LONG-TERM

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IMPACT OF THEIR PRESENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE FULL PRC DELEGATION ARRIVED NOVEMBER 11, CHINESE HAVE MADE THIRTEEN PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN UN BODIES, PLUS MAKING AIRPORT ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND CIRCULATING TEXT OF EARLIER STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT. PRC STATEMENTS (PREVIOUSLY REPORTED SEPTELS - NOTAL) HAVE BEEN PUT ON RECORD HERE ON FOLLOWING OCCASIONS:

(A) NOVEMBER 11: CHIAO KUAN-HUA ARRIVAL STATEMENT, INCLUDING REFERENCE TO FIVE PRINCIPLES AND TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES OF CHINA AND US.

(B) NOVEMBER 15: INAUGURAL PLENARY ADDRESS, A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT WHICH, HOWEVER, DID PULL PUNCHES ON ISSUES INVOLVING JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS UNITED STATES.

(C) NOVEMBER 16: BRIEF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WELCOME IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE INCLUDED MODEST ALLUSION TO CHINESE UNFAMILIARITY WITH UN PROCEDURES, A THEME REPEATED IN MEETINGS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS AND WITH PRESS.

(D) NOVEMBER 16: EXPLANATION OF FAVORABLE PLENARY VOTE ON RHODESIAN CHROME RESOLUTION, WHICH CRITICISED THE UNITED STATES LEGISLATIVE MOVES. PRC EXPLICITLY RESERVED POSITION ON OTHER RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO IN RESOLUTION VOTED UPON.

(E) NOVEMBER 16: RESPONSE TO WELCOME IN FIRST COMMITTEE, AGAIN STATING CHINESE NEED TO LEARN ABOUT WORKINGS OF UNITED NATIONS.

(F) NOVEMBER 19: INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF NEW ZEALAND-DUTCH RESOLUTION ON PAKISTAN REFUGEES. IN ADDITION TO BLAMING EAST PAKISTAN PROBLEM WHOLLY ON INDIA (WITHOUT MENTIONING INDIA BY NAME), ALSO RESURRECTED QUESTION OF INDIAN SUPPORT FOR REBELLION AND SUBVERSION IN TIBET, RELATING TIBET REFUGEES TO EAST PAKISTANI REFUGEES.

(G) NOVEMBER 19: DISPUTE WITH SAUDI ARABIA REPRESENTATIVE BAROODY DURING FIRST COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT DEBATE. PRC DELEGATE AN CHIH-YUAN, WHILE HIS SENIOR CH'EN CH'U TEMPORARILY ABSENT, MADE MISTAKE (WHICH MORE SEASONED DELEGATES WOULD HAVE AVOIDED) OF TANGLING WITH BAROODY IN REPLY TO SAUDI ARABIAN CRITICISM OF PRC NUCLEAR TEST. EXCHANGE CONCLUDED ONLY WHEN CH'EN TOOK OVER FROM AN TO SOFTEN AN'S EARLIER DENOUNCEMENT OF BAROODY'S CRITICISM.

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(H) NOVEMBER 22: STATEMENT DURING SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONS COMMITTEE'S DISCUSSION OF UNITED STATES LEGISLATION ON RHODESIAN CHROME. PRC COMMENTS, WHILE CRITICAL OF US BECAUSE OF APPARENT CONTRADICTION ON CHROME, WERE MILD, AND PRINCIPAL FUNCTION SEEMED TO BE TO RECORD PRC ON ANTI-COLONIAL SIDE.

(I) NOVEMBER 23: INAUGURAL STATEMENT IN SECURITY COUNCIL. ENDORSED SECURITY COUNCIL'S CHAPTER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND OPPOSING AGGRESSION; DID NOT MENTION ROLE AS PERMANENT MEMBERS, IDENTIFYING PRC WITH SMALLER AND AGGRIEVED COUNTRIES.

(J) NOVEMBER 24: PRC CIRCULATED, THROUGH UN CHANNELS, JULY 32TH RESPONSE TO USSR JUNE 15 PROPOSAL TO CONVENE FIVE-POWER NUCLEAR CONFERENCE.

(K) NOVEMBER 24: PLENARY STATEMENT OPPOSING SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. REITERATED PRC POSITIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA, PALESTINIAN AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS, IN ADDITION TO ADDRESSING DISARMAMENT ISSUES. CHIAO CONCLUDED STATEMENT WITH PROPOSAL THAT SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WDC NOT BE PUT TO VOTE AT THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(L) NOVEMBER 26: PLENARY STATEMENT, EXERCISING RIGHT OF REPLY TO MALIK'S RESPONSE TO CHIAO'S NOVEMBER 24TH STATEMENT ON WDC. IN THIS INSTANCE, CHIAO ATTACKED SOVIETS IN HIGHLY DRAMATIC AND PERSONALIZED MANNER AND INSERTED CRITICISM OF SOVIETS FOR ROLE IN INDIA. CHIAO ADVANCED PRC'S ANTI-WDC POSITION ONE STEP BY STATING CATEGORICALLY THAT PRC WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY VOTE ON SOVIET RESOLUTION AND WOULD ASSUME NO OBLIGATION AS RESULT OF VOTE.

(M) NOVEMBER 32: BRIEF STATEMENT IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE DEBATE ON UNRWA. BLAMED PALESTINIAN PROBLEM ON ISRAEL AND UNITED STATES IN LANGUAGE DRAWN HEAVILY FROM NOVEMBER 15TH INAUGURAL STATEMENT.

(N) NOVEMBER 32: STATEMENT ON GUINEA IN SECURITY COUNCIL, OFFERING PRO-FORMA TOTAL SUPPORT FOR GUINEA AND CRITICISM OF IMPERIALISTS' EFFORTS TO STIFLE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

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SAC-01 E-11 SR-02 GRM-03 CIAE-00 DDC-00 PM-06 H-02
INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-23 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12
RSR-01 /159 W

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R 261700Z DEC 71
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9445
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USDEL SALT VI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4797

SUBJ: PRC IN 26TH GA: THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

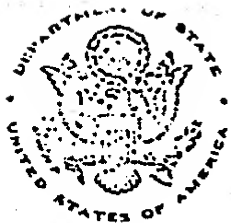
2. CHINESE ON AT LEAST TWO OF ABOVE-LISTED OCCASIONS
HAVE TAKEN ACTIONS THAT THEY MAY WISH IN RETROSPECT
THEY HAD NOT. DELEGATIONS' KNEE-JERK REACTION MILD
BARBOOY CRITICISM IN FIRST COMMITTEE NOVEMBER 19 WOULD
JUSTIFY MINOR REGRET. BARBOOY FIGURED ALSO IN THE MORE
SERIOUS INSTANCE. CHINESE CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE BEEN
SENSITIVE TO FACT THAT BARBOOY, FOLLOWING NOVEMBER 26
COMPLETION OF VITRIOLIC MALIK-CHIAO EXCHANGE, RECEIVED
NOT USUALLY ACCORDED APPLAUSE FOR HIS CHASTISEMENT OF
BOTH DELGATES FOR ABUSING UN FORUM FOR BIG-POWER AND
IDEOLOGICAL ENDS. PRC WILLINGNESS TO SUBJECT THE GA TO
THIS TYPE OF ATTACK, DIVERTING A DISARMAMENT PLENARY
TO NARROW GREAT-POWER CONFLICT, APPARENTLY HAS HAD STRONG
IMPACT ON SMALLER DELGATIONS. DURING SUBSEQUENT DIS-

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under provisions of E.O. 12958

7 J. Saunders, National Security Council



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ARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS IN CORRIDORS AND THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS, WE HAVE HAD INDISPUTABLE SIGNS THAT DELEGATIONS, AS DIRECT RESULT OF NOVEMBER 26 SPECTACLE, ARE HAVING SOME SECOND AND SOBER THOUGHTS ABOUT PENALTIES UN MAY HAVE TO PAY FOR PRC PRESENCE. (IMPLICATIONS FOR UN OF SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE ARE SUBJECT OF SEPTCL.) IN ADDITION THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS PRC MAY "DESPITE

NOVEMBER 26 PROMISE TO CONTRARY, END UP PARTICIPATING IN ACTION ON SOVIET OR SUBSTITUTE SMALL-POWER WDC PROPOSAL. THIS IS EXAMPLE OF UN PRESSURES REQUIRING PRC ADJUSTMENT.

3. DESPITE FREQUENT CHINESE PROTESTATIONS - BOTH IN FORMAL STATEMENTS AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESS AND WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS - THAT THEY ARE IN PERIOD OF LEARNING, PRC DELEGATION HAS LEFT UN WITH NO DOUBT THAT THE NEW BOYS HAVE ARRIVED AND PLAN TO MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT. THIS IMPRESSION HAS BEEN FORTIFIED BY COMPREHENSIVE INAUGURAL STATEMENT, REGULAR APPEARANCES IN PLENARY AND SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, DRAMATIC INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE AND WDC EXCHANGE WITH SOVIETS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN COMBINED WITH VISIBILITY IN CORRIDORS, CALLS ON OTHER DELEGATIONS, ACCESSIBILITY TO PRESS AND TENTATIVE FIRST SOCIAL APPEARANCES.

4. NEVERTHELESS, CHINESE HAVE STILL NOT PARTICIPATED IN WORK OF SECOND (ECOSOC), FOURTH (TRUSTEESHIP), FIFTH (ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY) OR SIXTH (LEGAL) COMMITTEES, NOR HAVE CHINESE DELEGATES OR STAFF APPEARED IN THESE COMMITTEE ROOMS AS OBSERVERS (ALTHOUGH AT LEAST IN CASE OF FIFTH COMMITTEE, CHINESE HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN CONSULTING INFORMALLY WITH OTHER MEMBER-DELEGATES). OF THREE MEETINGS OF SANCTIONS COMMITTEE OF SECURITY COUNCIL THEY HAVE ONLY ATTENDED ONE, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE INFORMED POINTEDLY OF OTHERS. IN SECURITY COUNCIL ITSELF, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE BEEN PRESENT AT EVERY MEETING AND HAVE PARTICIPATED FULLY IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT. WITH EXCEPTION OF WDC AND INDIA-PAKISTAN, CHINESE APPEAR NOT TO HAVE BROKEN ANY NEW POLICY GROUND. THEY HAVE AVOIDED COMMITTING SELVES

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ON NCI-4DC DISARMAMENT ISSUES, ON QUESTION OF SYG SUCCESSION, ON UN FINANCING, STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, LAW OF THE SEA AND OTHERS.

ALTHOUGH THEY INSISTED ON ELECTION TO ECOSOC AND ASKED FOR SEAT ON ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS (ACARO) (WHERE REPRESENTATIVES SIT IN "EXPERT" CAPACITY), THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT, WITH DELEGATION'S SINGLE FINANCIAL/ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERT ALREADY BEING PLACED ON ACARO, THEY DO NOT WANT TO SERVE ON COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS THIS YEAR. THEY HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE. THEY HAVE DECLINED PUT FORWARD CANDIDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION AND THEY ARE HOLDING OFF ON MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. THERE ARE MOST OF UN UNITS WHERE THEY COULD BE INCLUDED IF THEY DESIRED.

5. CHINESE HAVE TIRELESSLY SOUGHT ADVICE OF SECRETARIAT (IN CONTRAST TO SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS) AND ADVICE OF OTHER DELEGATIONS (SMOKING OUT OTHERS' ATTITUDES IN THE PROCESS) AND LISTENED CAREFULLY TO EVERYONE. BUT THEY HAVE FOR MOST PART RESERVED THEIR POSITIONS. EVEN IF THEY SO DESIRE, HOWEVER, THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH 24TH GA WITHOUT TAKING POSITIONS ON SOME OF REMAINING ITEMS. MIDEAST DEBATE, WHICH SCHEDULED LAST THROUGH MOST OF NEXT WEEK, WILL BE DIFFICULT TO STAY ALOOF FROM IN VIEW OF DEEP SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND OF IMPORTANCE TO ARABS. POSITION ON BROADER MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONS WILL BE MUCH MORE TRICKY THAN PROBLEM PRESENTED BY UNRWA DEBATE WHICH THEY ENTERED WITHOUT COST. CHINESE WILL HAVE TO TAKE POSITION SOON ON SUCCESSOR TO SYG OR FIND THEMSELVES, WITH OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS, TARGET OF SMALL-COUNTRY CRITICISMS FOR DELAY. TEST BAN RESOLUTIONS WILL POSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR PRC. CHINESE WILL BE CONFRONTED, PARTICULARLY AS MEMBERS OF THE ACARO, WITH NEED TO SHOW THEIR HAND ON CRITICAL UN FINANCING QUESTIONS, IF THE EAST PAKISTAN QUESTION COMES TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ACTION, THE PRC WILL FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT A SATISFACTORY POSITION THAN IT WAS SIMPLY TO BLAST INDIAN POSITION AS THEY DID THIRD COMMITTEE ISHAHI OF PAKISTAN SEEMS TO BE ON PARTICULARLY CLOSE TERMS WITH PRC DELEGATION. CYPRUS ISSUE, ON WHICH SYG RECOMMENDS GREATER SECURITY COUNCIL INVOLVEMENT, WILL

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ADD TO COMPLICATIONS OF UN PARTICIPATION.

6. AS THIRD WEEK'S ACTIVITY ENDS AND WITH EQUAL PERIOD REMAINING UNTIL CLOSE OF 26TH GA, CHINESE, HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO THEIR NEOPHYTE STATUS, HAVE MANAGED TO KEEP MOST BUT NOT ALL OPTIONS OPEN ALTHOUGH WDC DEBATE INDICATED THAT SINO-SOVIET ANTAGONISM WOULD BE IMPORTANT FACTOR. HOWEVER, PROCESS OF UN GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS BEGUN, AND WILL INTENSIFY DURING REMAINDER OF SESSION. CHINESE ARE GOING TO BE FEELING THE SQUEEZE PRODUCED BY PRACTICAL PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURES. THEY UNDOUBTEDLY, LIKE OURSELVES, WILL BE RELIEVED WHEN THE FINAL GAVEL GOES DOWN. GP-3.
BUSH

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